

Research Article

Locality and Implementation of Human Rights City

*Received: 17th November 2021; Revised: 19th December 2021;
Accepted: 15th December 2021; Available online: 16th December 2021*

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Abstract

This article originated from studies that posed questions on the influence of Wonosobo for Human Rights Friendly City implementation in relation to religious tolerance in Buntu Village, Kejajar District. The study aims to identify the impact of the Human Rights Friendly City status that Wonosobo bears on the increasing religious tolerance in Buntu Village. Religious tolerance, which serves as one of Wonosobo's focuses on the Human Rights City agenda, becomes the limitation of this study. The time frame of this research ranges from 2016-2020, especially after the promulgation of Regional Government of Kabupaten Wonosobo Regulation Number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights Friendly City. This study uses a qualitative approach as its research method while utilizing interviews and literature studies as its data collection methods. It is worth noting that Buntu Village already possessed religious diversity and a high level of tolerance in its society even before the Human Right Friendly City policy was ratified as one of Wonosobo's priorities. However, this study finds that tolerance in Buntu Village runs naturally without any external intervention. The Human Rights Friendly City status plays a tiny role in improving the quality of tolerance in Buntu Village. Hence, our study suggests that it is necessary for the regional government to increase the level of seriousness to continuously implement the program in the form of budget politics or other development programs.

Keywords: Human Rights City; Tolerance; Diversity; Buntu Village; Wonosobo Regency

How to Cite: Najwah, L.N., Setiawan, A. (2021). Locality and Implementation of Human Rights City. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial*, 20 (2): 161-184 (doi: 10.14710/jis.20.2.2021.161-184), [Online]

Permalink/DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14710/jis.20.2.2021.161-184>

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INTRODUCTION

Human Rights City (HRC) initiative is an attempt to adopt and localize the globally popularized features of human rights (INFID, 2016). Such a concept explains the rights of city residents to be able to comprehensively participate and the improvements of life-supporting facilities by limiting the existence of classical liberalism and capitalism (Raoul Wallenberg Institute, 2017).

The idea of a city or regency should act as an institution that enforces human rights emerged because cities and regencies are the closest government unit to society. Cities or regencies will become the most effective and efficient institutions to supervise and collect people's aspirations in order to fulfill human rights principles (Hanifah, 2020). Previously, state responsibility to ratify the international convention into national law was proven to have no direct effect on stakeholders in acquiring their rights (Nurkhoiron, 2017). The shift of power, in the form of regional decentralization, basically strengthens the authority of regional governments (Pemerintah Daerah/Pemda) to assert honoring, protection, and fulfillment of human rights (Komnas HAM, 2016).

Wonosobo is one of the pioneer cities/regencies in Indonesia that adapted the concept and principles of Gwaju's Human Rights City or the Gwangju Declaration of Human Rights City (GDHRC) into its regional governance (Nurkhoiron, 2017). Such an act is formally listed in Wonosobo's Regional Regulation (Peraturan Daerah/Perda) of Kabupaten Wonosobo number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights Friendly City (Khusen, 2016). The implementation of the Human Rights City paradigm was then concreted into five pillars, namely concerning to environment, children, pregnant mothers, elderly, the fulfillment of rights to education, health, food, and security (INFID, 2017).

Buntu Village is a village located in Kejajar District, Wonosobo. The community in Buntu Village consists of four religious believer groups (Muslims, Buddhists, Catholics, and protestants) and, until today, is well-known for its high level of religious tolerance among its people (Tosiani, 2017). Tolerance is one indicator to prove the guarantee of the right to security and right to religious freedom, where the fulfillment of these rights is still incomplete in some regions of Indonesia (Deutche Welle, 2019).

From a legal perspective, religious freedom is guaranteed via article 29 verse (2) in the Constitution (Undang-Undang Dasar 1945) which states that the freedom of each citizen to embrace any religion is guaranteed by the state. Nevertheless, conflicts among religious believers

still frequently occur due to uncontested truth claims, the disappearance of borders between religions and customs, interpretations of religions that justify violence, weak commitment toward tolerance, and poor awareness of pluralism (Siti Aisyah, 2014).

Tolerance in society will become a complementary element in realizing human rights, especially the right to religious freedom; it will complement existing formal law (Handayani, 2010). The current situation in Buntu Village indicates the existence of a tolerance tradition prior to the implementation of the Human Rights City initiative. Eventually, the application of Human Rights City in Wonosobo will also affect the improvement of Human Rights in Buntu Village.

In the context of decentralization, the responsibility toward Human Rights—as declared by Vienna Convention in 1993—posed a unique challenge. It attempts to reverse the *top-down* tradition of state responsibility on Human Rights into a bottom-up initiative by optimizing the role of regional government in the enforcement and advancement of Human Rights (Koutsoumpas & MacNaughton, 2020; Mielle, 2019). Regional governments are also encouraged to be actively involved in the fulfillment, honoring, and protection of Human Rights under the HRC Scheme. Regional governments will play a huge role because they are important actors in the process of institutionalization of Human Rights in society.

The study of HRC is spread over various issues. These issues do not just target civil and political aspects. More than that, other aspects such as economic, social, cultural rights, and even vulnerable groups are also in the equation (Grigolo, 2010; Och, 2018; Farkhana & Rahdriawan, 2018). The expansion of city's role in the responsibility toward Human Rights, as demonstrated by the state, is closer to realization. City is not just an extension of state's authority, but it also plays a significant role in realizing Human Rights (Oomen & Durmus, 2019).

In the context of Indonesia, HRC is not yet a mainstream discourse in the development of a city. Decentralization has not been able to push regional governments to implement such a concept even though their role is significantly increased (Barber, 2013). In addition, comprehensive studies on HRC in Indonesia are still fairly limited. The infancy of the HRC concept partially caused this problem. Hence, Wonosobo is the only city/regency that regulates the concept in the form of regional regulation. Other cities/regencies that declared themselves as a Human Right City have not reached the same level of institutionalization as Wonosobo.

An academic-practical comprehensive study holds the potential to uncover all potencies to develop future research on HRC, especially in the context of Human Rights as a social prac-

tice that is neglected oftentimes in various studies related to Human Rights. The influence of a city that holds the HRC status on society needs to be tested in order to identify various problems faced by the regional government and society in implementing policies related to Human Rights. Social practice is important because it doesn't limit the discussion to legal aspects (norms) only, much further, it also examines the possibility to make the policy applicable in society.

Buntu Village in Wonosobo is renowned as one of the pioneers that support Wonosobo's status as a Human Right City. It is evident from its local culture which embodies a human rights-friendly nature even before the implementation of Human Rights-Friendly City in Wonosobo. Pre-existing customs—such as the existence of a mixed cemetery that welcomes any religious believers, impressive demonstration of tolerance during Ramadhan and Christmas—prove that the society possesses a mature awareness as well as a huge role in undertaking the act of tolerance in Buntu Village.

The deep commitment to tolerance undertaken by the society in Buntu Village is an interesting phenomenon to be studied. People in the Village have always been involved in preserving, enforcing, and advancing Human Rights, particularly its tolerance tradition. Furthermore, this research also aims to identify the influence of global norm internalization at the local level. In addition, it also strives to explain the way local community responds to global norms within its own social customs, cultures, and rules locally.

Through this research, we can study the influence and significance of the implementation of HRC on a society that has collectively worked to establish religious tolerance. Such a condition allows us to assess the implementation of Human Rights from two directions (formal institution and grass-root) and whether the policy, Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights Friendly City, has any effects on the tradition of tolerance in Buntu Village, which was previously known as the “tolerant village.”

Assumptions of the abovementioned paragraph were built on the analysis of a network of ideas relating to the concept and implementation of Human Rights Cities from a number of earlier studies. In the *Jurnal Pemikiran Sosiologi*, Nurkhoiron (2017) emphasizes the formation process of HRC in Indonesia. His article discusses various opportunities, challenges, and obstacles when National Commission for Human Rights (Komnas HAM) encouraged Palu and Wonosobo to hold Human Right City status. In the same resonance, Mulia (2019) compares the formation processes of HRC in Gwangju (South Korea) and Wonosobo (Indonesia). Historical as-

pect serves as her main reference to explain the case. However, Khusen (2016) explains, in greater detail, the formation process of HRC in Wonosobo.

Park governance as a form of implementation of HRC in Wonosobo will also be studied in this research. The existence of parks as public spaces acts as a reference in the debate of HRC in Wonosobo (Farkhana & Rahdriawan, 2018). Meanwhile, Malliga (2018) puts more emphasis on the international norms diffusion aspect in a city. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) becomes a suitable model for how HRC could support gender equality.

On the other perspective, the concept of Human Rights-Friendly City is still heatedly discussed within the academic framework. Oomen & Durmus (2019) propose an argument on the agent, actor, and arena, in which they state that the formation of Human Rights-Friendly City doesn't exclude itself from competing political interests. Another scholar, Yazid (2019), puts forward a proposition that the implementation of Human Rights-Friendly City can help a city/regency in realizing sustainable development goals (SDGs). He comes up with the conclusion through his research in Bandung City. However, Bandung, which declared itself as a Human Rights-Friendly City, has not formed any formal regulation that unambiguously states Bandung as a Human Rights-Friendly City. Such a declaration was a mere verbal expression, which cannot be counted as a policy.

All of the aforementioned scholarly works illustrate the network of ideas related to HRC in Indonesia, especially in Wonosobo. Literary study shows that prior studies on HRC have not examined the context of social practice. It means that the study of HRC is still at a conceptual level and only a few touched on its axiological dimension. Such a gap is worthy to explore, especially in an area that has its own uniqueness.

Based on the abovementioned description, we ask “*what is the influence of Human Rights-Friendly City in Wonosobo on the improvement of tolerance in Buntu Village?*” Meanwhile, this study focuses on the influence of the implementation of Human Rights-Friendly City in Wonosobo on the improvement of tolerance in Buntu Village which is a novelty in this research.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research utilizes a descriptive type qualitative approach. The qualitative method is a research strategy that puts a great emphasis on the depth of analysis of the research. It aims to acquire a deep understanding of social phenomena through comprehensive observation. We choose the descriptive type because we aim to identify the influence of the implementation of Human Rights-Friendly City on the community in Buntu Village.

In this study, literature review and interview act as the data collection method. The interview is conducted with several actors that have important information related to the topic. The name of the interviewees is as follows: Marten Hanura and Unang Mulkhan (academics), Suwoto (The head of Buntu Village), Mulyadi (Muslim figure), Suprpto (Buddhist figure), Triono (Christians figure), Ahmad Baehaqy (member of Region Commission on Human Rights), Tafrihan (Human Rights activist and a member of Wonosobo's Human Rights City task force), and Diah Ismoyowati (social researcher).

Literature review as a technique to collect data functions as a collector of knowledge from previous researches. Data sources can include books, journals, and other various data. Collected data will then be analyzed in order to obtain a finding. In terms of analyzing technique, we use an interpretive analysis technique because we interpret all collected data. We employ such a technique to acquire a comprehensive form of analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Human Rights City and Wonosobo's Human Rights Friendly

Human Rights City (HRC) is a global movement that was initiated by various *civil society organizations* (CSO), academics, and city/regency governments. This movement is an effort to implement human rights principles at a city level. HRC is first initiated in 2001 in *The World Charter on the Right to the City*. Hence, a similar movement followed up in 2006, namely *Global Charter-Agenda for Human Rights in the City* (Brown & Kristiansen, 2008). From this point onward, several cities then started to initiate various formats of contextualized HRC which are related to local problems. In 2006, Montreal regional government initiated the *Charter of Rights and Responsibilities of Montreal*. In a similar vein, Mexico City launched *Mexico City Charter for the Right to the City* in 2010. At the same time, South Korea also participated

in this global movement in Gwangju by declaring *Gwangju Declaration on a Human Rights City* (GDHRC) at *World Human Rights Cities Forum* (WHRCF) (Reuter, 2019).

Of all of the HRC initiatives mentioned above, Gwangju was the only party that could develop such an initiative on a global scale. Several SCOs, universities, and stakeholders were involved in the development of the concept in the form of annual forum. The forum involves numerous parties to the point where it can be considered even more inclusive compared to other declarations. Moreover, GDHRC holds distinct characteristics from others in which all of the principles don't have to be adopted by fellow members that want to develop the concept. It applies a more adaptive attitude, meaning cities can contextualize the principles with existing problems faced by them.

In 2013, the United Nations Human Rights (UNHR) Council adopted a resolution on the role of regional governments in the protection and advancement of Human Rights in the form of UNHR Council Resolution number 24 (2013) concerning *Local Government and Human Rights* (Lee, 2019). The resolution was strengthened by the adoption of UNHR Council Resolution under the framework of General Assembly Human Rights Council A/HRC/30/49 (2015). In regards to this, the principles of HRC under the framework of GDHRC (collective participation, democracy, transparency, responsible leadership, and equality in the implementation of development programs) were mostly adopted by Resolution A/HRC/30/49 (INFID, 2018). The GDHRC, with its ten main principles, acted as a center of reference for global movements to localize state's responsibility for Human Rights which, for too long, were concentrated in the hands of national governments (UCLG, n.d).

Many cities in the world have adopted GDHCR contextually in accordance with their local challenges. In the Asian region, there are Seoul (South Korea), Bandung, Wonosobo, Bojonegoro (Indonesia), and Nagpur (India). In Europe, there are Vienna (Austria), York (United Kingdom), Lund (Sweden), and Nuremberg (Germany). Consequently, GDHRC can be considered a global agenda that involves many stakeholders. There are other cities as well such as Mu- sa in South Africa, Washington in the United States, and Montevideo in Uruguay. These facts reinforce Barber's (2013) thesis which claims that, in the future, cities will become more efficient in solving community problems and preserving democracy. The increasing role of cities is an opportunity to improve the quality of Human Rights, especially for promoting and guaranteeing democracy. Alternatively, cities can also act and influence on a global scale. Cities can act as global dispute settlement instruments. Especially for problems that are failed to resolve at

the national level (Acuto & Steele, 2013). Barber's and Acuto's arguments affirm the huge role that cities play in the dynamics of global politics, including various unresolved issues, of Human Rights at the national level.

In the context of Indonesia, the global agenda of HRC under the framework of GDHRC receives positive responses from several cities/regencies. Such responses arise due to the presence of a huge opportunity for cities/regencies to continuously progress and develop under the system of regional autonomy. Decentralization, which in effect since 1999, causes the role of regional governments to increase. The development of HRC can be viewed as a huge potential amidst a multitude of alleged violations toward regional government over the last decade (Komnas HAM, 2020).

Wonosobo is the first regency government that legally adopted the principles of GDHRC within its governmental practices. Due to the enforcement of Regional Government of Kabupaten Wonosobo Regulation Number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights-Friendly City, the mayor and its regional legislative council (DPRD) of Wonosobo have to recognize the adaption of the principles of GDHRC. However, the regional government doesn't fully adopt the resolution. Wonosobo conducts the adoption by implementing the five pillars for HRC.

The government of Wonosobo continues to progress in the implementation of HRC. In November 2018, Wonosobo officially had the Regional Commission on Human Rights (*Komisi Daerah Hak Asasi Manusia/Komda HAM*) which is one of the concrete forms of HRC institutionalization. Due to Wonosobo's Mayor Regulation number 42 of 2018 concerning the Wonosobo Commission on Human Rights, it became the first city/regency to have its own human rights institution (Komnas HAM, 2019). The establishment of Komda HAM represents that the HRC in Wonosobo is not just a program that only exists on paper. Even further, it demonstrates the seriousness of the regional government in mainstreaming human rights at the local level.

According to demographic data in Figure 1, Wonosobo's population reached 879,124 people which consisted of 50.98% male and 49.02% female in 2020. The majority of its population worked in the agricultural sector according to the same 2020 data. The claim can be easily confirmed by looking at the employment rate in that sector in which it employed 165,497 people of all working age. It was then followed by the service sector which employed 147,333 people. The employment status of Wonosobo's population was dominated by entrepreneurs for as many as 89,036 people. Such a phenomenon could occur due to a large number of people work-

ing in the service sector. Based on their religion, the people of Wonosobo adhere to religions *inter alia*: Islam (888,757 people), Protestant (5,321 people), Catholic (3,420 people), Budha (606 people), Hindu (168 people), and other religions (35 people) (BPS, 2020).

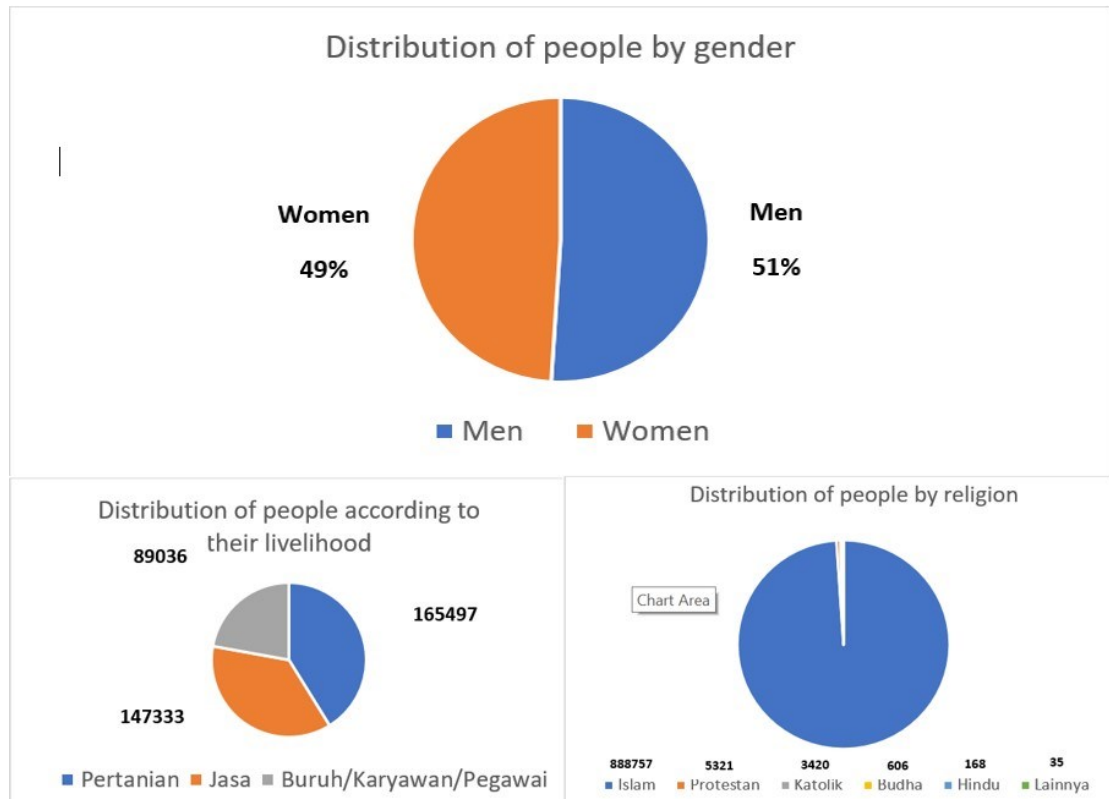


Figure 1. Sectoral Distribution of Wonosobo's Population

Source: Statistics Indonesia (2020)

The 2019 election—as one of the most important milestones in the process of democratic consolidation in Indonesia—could run smoothly and peacefully by ensuring honor, protection, and fulfillment of human rights for all residents of Wonosobo. It was all thanks to the rigorous preservation of values and attitudes of tolerance that have lived in society through various approaches, including education, arts, and culture, creating and increasing the number of dialogue spaces for all parties, inter-religious, inter-group, inter-racial, and inter-generational.

On the commemoration of World Human Rights Day in Surakarta, 2017, Wonosobo won an award as a Human Right City from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia. Such an achievement was the result of Wonosobo's commitment to strengthening human rights legal aspects via the issuance of Regional Government Regulation Number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights Friendly City. (Jateng

Pos, 2017). In addition, Wonosobo's commitment to fulfilling other human rights principles is to increase the accessibility of public facilities such as revitalizing the regency square, improving disabled-friendly sidewalks, and establishing lactation corners in every office of the regional apparatus organization (OPD).

Indonesia employs two approaches to realizing human rights city, namely regional government initiatives and the incentivization from central government. regional government initiatives, in practice, are mostly accelerated by civil society groups through the "Human Rights Cities" program. Meanwhile, the central government approach, carried out by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights of the Republic of Indonesia, incentivizes regional government through the "Cities and Regencies for Human Rights" program. Therefore, these two approaches complement each other. The development of Wonosobo as a human rights-friendly city aims to influence other cities in Indonesia to fully commit to human rights values. In particular, Wonosobo does have a regional regulation (Perda) that regulates the implementation of human rights-friendly city. As mentioned earlier, it is regulated in Regional Government Regulation Number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights Friendly City. To ensure representation of various community groups, the commission of Wonosobo for Human Rights-Friendly City itself consists of three elements. These three elements are state and academics, affirmation, and lastly, human rights activists from various groups.

Generally, the concept of HRC originates from international ideas that are agreed upon by international parties, which encourage states to respect and protect human rights (Hanura, interview, 14 Agustus 2021). According to the lecturer of International Relations at Diponegoro University, Human Rights City is an inseparable part of the global agenda to continuously advance human rights values in every country in the world. The basic principles of a Human Rights City originated from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights regime, which was then contextualized to the local level up to the point where these values can directly reach the community (Hanura, interview, 14 August 2021; Da Silva, 2018). Local government is an inextricable part of the state, hence they have a responsibility toward human rights.

"The study of local authorities therefore offers a novel and unique perspective into the process of political decision making on human rights with potentially important insights into their legitimacy and effectiveness in different contexts. In some instances, it will also reveal the concrete and personal motivations behind these acts since decisions for or against human rights in local contexts are frequently made by a small circle of

policymakers or even individuals such as mayors” (Oomen & Baumgärtel, 2018).

Regarding the implementation of HRC in various cities in Indonesia, lecturers at the University of Lampung and HRC development activist, Unang Mulkhan, classifies them into three categories; 1) Leading, meaning cities that have utilized the international HRC frameworks such as the GDHRC. Cities in this category generally had working groups to plan, monitor, and evaluate the implementation of Human Rights-Friendly City. 2) Cities that declare but have not formally realized the principles yet. Although the city has declared itself as a Human Rights City, it does not have any supporting institutions to support such an initiative at the moment. 3) Cities that have not aimed to the implementation of Human Rights-Friendly City. Cities in this category basically still bare a duty to implement minimum service standards which force the decision makers to realize human rights principles (Mulkhan, interview, 20 August 2021).

Meanwhile, in the case of this research, the basis for the formation of the Wonosobo for Human Rights Friendly City departed from insecurities in Wonosobo experienced by its residents. According to Wonosobo’s community leader and fellow member of Wonosobo for Human Rights Working Group, Tafrihan, one of the causes was the high crime rate. Viewed from the human rights perspective, such insecurity is a form of the unavailability of a sense of security as a community’s right (interview, 13 August 2021). Eventually, in order to improve the quality of people’s lives and restore the right to a sense of security in an integrative manner, human rights activists together with the government of Wonosobo initiated the Wonosobo for Human Rights Friendly City initiative. “[The initiative] not only aims to overcome the issue of high crime rate in Wonosobo but also to touch other aspects—*exempli gratia*, increasing focus on fulfilling the rights of children, people with disabilities, and women,” he said (Tafrihan, interview, 13 August 2021).

The implementation of Wonosobo for Human Rights Friendly City involves an active role of the Wonosobo Government which is assisted by Komda HAM, especially in cases of training and assistance. All of the undertaken efforts were conducted to ensure that the implemented policies can accommodate the needs of the community regarding the fulfillment of human rights. Aside from Komda HAM, several other stakeholders such as the head of UPD, Head of Offices, and the local community participated in the implementation of Wonosobo for Human Rights-Friendly City program as well (Tafrihan, interview, 13 August 2021).

According to Tafrihan, the main focus of the implementation of Wonosobo for Human Rights Friendly City is still at the socialization stage. The stage is necessary to ensure that the program is implemented based on two kinds of awareness: *top-down* (from the government to its people) and *bottom-up* (from the people to the government). The goal is to assure that the HRC policy could actually answer real problems that occur in society.

Generally, socialization endeavors are undertaken by considering the condition of the community. For instance, conducting annual festivals related to human rights, especially those concerning inter-community tolerance. However, in this pandemic situation, socialization is performed through webinars.

Wonosobo for Human Rights-Friendly City: Influences and Impacts on Buntu Village

Prior to the enactment of Wonosobo for Human Rights City policy, Buntu Village already had a high level of tolerance, especially tolerance among religious communities. The condition has become the norm since, at least, 40 years ago (Tosiani, 2017). The claim is proved by the composition of religious believers in the village. There are four religions that are adhered to by the people, namely Islam, Christianity, Catholicism, and Buddhism. In addition, there are also four houses of worship—for the aforementioned four religions—which are closely located to one another (Tosiani, 2017). The Village Head admitted that his family members also had various beliefs. Therefore, many call Buntu Village “Miniature of Indonesia” or “Tolerance Village,” some even claim that it is worthy of being a laboratory for diversity (Thoha, 2021). The condition of tolerance in Buntu Village had existed prior to the enactment of Wonosobo for Human Rights City policy, declaratively or constitutively. “Here (in Buntu Village) it is common to hold multiple beliefs in one family,” said the Head of Buntu Village (Suwoto, interview, October 31, 2021).

Table 1. The Number of Religious Adherents in Buntu Village in 2018

| NO. | HOUSES OF WORSHIP | NUMBER OF RELIGIOUS ADHERENTS |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. | Islam | 2.246 |
| 2. | Protestant | 6 |
| 3. | Catholic | 167 |
| 4. | Buddha | 66 |

Source: *Indonesian Statistics, Kejajar District in Numbers, 2019*

Table 1 illustrates the condition of heterogeneity of religious beliefs held by Buntu Village's community. The village contrasts itself with other typical villages in Java which generally hold homogeneity of beliefs. Tolerance is the keyword to live side by side, peaceful, and harmonious as one village entity. Furthermore, the manifestation of tolerance can be clearly observed in their practice of funerals. The Buntu Village's cemetery welcomed any person without differentiating of religious identity. There is no grouping based on people's beliefs in that cemetery in Figure 2.



Figure 2. Public Cemetery in Buntu Village

Source: Personal Document (2021)

Cultural aspects are considered to play a major role in uniting diversity in Buntu Village. There have been almost no clashes between communities, especially since the HRC policy was enacted. “When the drum is beaten, Muslims come. When the bells ring, Christians come. When the gamelan is played, everyone comes” (Mul Khan, interview, 20 August 2021). This proves that the community is able to rule out their religious identity by agglomerating themselves into a common identity, namely as residents of Buntu Village.

The culture, which later became the identity, is always cultivated over times. According to Suprpto, the spirit of *gotong royong* (mutual cooperation) is not only owned by the villagers

who are classified as elders, but also the younger generation. The younger generation actually strengthens unity in the village. Efforts to promote unity are also implemented through various assemblies.

“Gatherings for proposing road extension, example, make everyone to work together (*gotong royong*). I observe that the people live peacefully. Buntu Village is prosperous, the water is abundant, and its people live in harmony and peacefully” (Suprpto, Interview, 31 Oktober 2021).

As stated by Ahmad Baehaqy, a member of Komda HAM, the impressive tolerance in Buntu Village is inextricable from the local wisdom possessed by the local residents. The notion of common ancestry strengthens the unity of Buntu Village’s residents. It doesn’t stem from any government intervention. In fact, Wonosobo's status as a Human Rights Friendly City has little contribution to the improvement of tolerance in Buntu Village. However, local government policies in Indonesia are, in principle, prone to inapplicability or changes (Susilo, 2019). Political context greatly influences the dynamics of a policy.

“Komda HAM is still unable to answer all challenges thoroughly. Institutionally, we still can’t do anything. The commissioners work based on the long history that they have conducted. Therefore, there has not been any special program for Buntu Village. Villagers live with their local wisdom.” (Baehaqy, Interview, 31 Oktober 2021).

Historically, the head of the village act as a figure who strengthens community’s harmony; it is a long-lasting tradition possessed by the village. Based on Suprpto's experience, harmony among villagers exist because they obey the orders from village elders or village heads. Judging from the historical experience of Buntu Village, the village head's initiative was dominant at the beginning in order to strengthen tolerance between religious communities. “*Tiyangnipun kompak sedhaya niku kan sedhaya tundhuk kalih pimpinan. Dados saged kawestan manunggaling kawula gusti.* (We have a cohesive community because we obey the leadership. Therefore, it is highly possible to create unity between the people and the leaders),” Suprpto said.

In addition, Ahmad Baehaqy states that the existence of Human Rights Friendly City status has not been able to produce maximum outcomes due to institutional factors (Interview, October 31, 2021). It is related to the lack of adequate institutional infrastructure within the Komda HAM. Works of Komda HAM in Buntu Village, to date, revolve around personal activ-

ities within an interfaith dialogue. The duties that Baehaqy performs most often is facilitating communication with villagers. "The objection if the city is human rights friendly makes the people of Buntu (village) better tolerated," he said (Baehaqy, interview, 31 October 2021). The absence of adequate institutional performance in realizing Human Rights Friendly City generates significant impacts towards future processes, as experienced by other cities in the world. (Karman, Widian, and Yazid, 2020; MacNaughton, Weeks, Kamau, Sajadi, and Tarimo, 2020). Declaring the city as a Human Rights City is not enough; even more important is adequate institutionalization.

“The question then becomes understanding the broader set of constraints and opportunities within which the urban practice of human rights emerge in different cities of the world, and the extent to which the ‘proximity’ of cities to the everyday life of human rights can generate a practice of resistance to the harshest forms of neoliberal domination in the city. For this reason, it is important to keep an eye on how human rights are constructed, not only in city charters and statements but also, and eventually most importantly, at the level of the work and engagement of the human rights institutions of the city” (Grigolo, 2016).

On the other hand, if the government intends to intervene or initiate a program in Buntu Village, then it should be carefully planned and implemented. If it is only within the framework of routine activities, the regional government has to seriously consider the socio-cultural conditions of the Buntu Village community. Because according to Baehaqy, if the regional government doesn't pay attention to this, the interventions or programs can deprive local wisdom that are already rooted in society (Baehaqy, interview, 31 October 2021).

An independent researcher on diversity in Buntu Village, Diah Ismoyowati, expressed a similar point. She notes that, until now, there has been no special program from the regional government to strengthen tolerance in Buntu Village, even after the formalization of Wonosobo as Human Rights Friendly City. In fact, according to her, human rights training for village officials has never been undertaken. "There are only visits for ceremonial activities," she added (interview, October 31, 2021). Meanwhile, based on Mulyadi's confession, Komda HAM only provides inputs and lectures through workshops or seminars (Mulyadi, interview, 31 October 2021). Strengthening Komda HAM institutionalization is the most important part of implementing Wonosobo for Human Rights City Friendly policy. It is closely linked to one of the goals of HRC which is a part of conflict resolution due to political polarization in society (Smith, 2018).

The Government of Buntu Village employs informal approaches to strengthen the culture of tolerance by improving the *gotong royong tradition*, including collectively cleaning the

environment and houses of worship (Triono, interview, 31 October 2021). The local wisdom approach taken by the village government is the main element in creating inter-religious harmony in Buntu Village. The purpose of this program is to create a sense of comfortability and a sense of belonging for all people and organizations as part of Buntu Village.

“This is Buntu Village character. Minorities are not excluded by the majority. Religious leaders also said there was no difference, everyone is equal. We fix problems by not siding with any particular religious group. People are immune from bad influences from the outside” (Suwoto, interview, 31 Oktober 2021).

The regional regulation concerning Wonosobo for Human Rights Friendly City basically acts as a supporting role in the creation of tolerant life in Wonosobo. Alternatively, it also serves to improve human rights for the community. The regional government of Kabupaten Wonosobo is expected to be able to facilitate such an agenda through monitoring and evaluation. It aims to, specifically, preserve impressive tolerance in Buntu Village and, generally, advance the development of Wonosobo as a Human Rights Friendly City. “it is such a waste if the policy is abolished, we should improve what is already good. We also thank the community for the understanding” (Suwoto, interview, 31 October 2021).

The socialization process related to the fundamental aspects of the concept of Human Rights Friendly City, namely human rights itself poses its own challenges. This is, in part, caused by the existence of a stigma that the concept of human rights is a western identity that may not be suitable for people who consider themselves 'eastern'. Therefore, common languages or terms that can be more easily accepted are desperately needed, both for the community and for stakeholders who may still have a lack of understanding of the term human rights (Mulkhan, interview, 20 August 2021). The term “human rights” is also still debatable due to the lack of integration of stakeholder groups. This is presumably due to the connotation of human rights which sounds like demands that are usually feared by stakeholder groups (Mulkhan, interview, 20 August 2021).

The Potency of Intolerance and Society’s Mitigation

The solidly established culture of tolerance in Buntu Village does not mean that it is liberated from potential conflicts, does not mean that it is free from potential conflicts. However, the community has developed its own mitigation efforts. Referring to Mulyadi, a Muslim religious leader in Buntu Village, the Muslim community in Buntu Village (he specifically refers to

Nahdatul Ulama Muslims) is open and accepts all beliefs as a whole. He mentioned the reason for this is because good relations with human beings, both with Muslims and other religious groups, are relations that need to be preserved (Mulyadi, interview, 31 October 2021). This means society has a tendency to avoid religious fanaticism and minimize conflicts with other religious groups as the dominant demographic group.

In the past, there was almost a disunity caused by preachings that tend to discuss exclusive issues (only for the organization internally) but was amplified through loudspeakers. Broadcasting preachings through loudspeakers was basically considered reasonable because it was seen as a form of education for the wider community who at that time could not attend the preaching. However, there were discussions that were opposing other community groups so it was considered necessary to be evaluated. Since then, preachings that have been classified as “internals only” have been able to continue but without broadcasting the discussion publicly (Mulyadi, interview, 31 October 2021).

To mitigate further conflicts, the Islamic community (in this case *Nahdatul Ulama*) even has its own guidebook for Friday prayers to rule out sensitive themes. In addition, community organizations and village officials also contribute in efforts to mitigate societal conflicts (Mulyadi, interview, 31 October 2021).

Meanwhile, youth movement in Buntu Village has a tendency to move as Buntu (Village's) Youth rather than youth from certain religious groups (e.g. Catholic Youth, Ansor Youth, or Muhammadiyah Youth). The role of the youth group is to arrange and schedule productive activities for youngsters in Buntu Village. These activities include organizing sports events (usually badminton, sepak takraw, and volleyball). In addition, they also formed a special body to accommodate activities that are related to specific interests. The purpose of this activity, aside from canalizing interests and talents, is to occupy youngsters in Buntu Village with productive activities so that it can reduce the potential for juvenile delinquency which can cause new social problems in the future.

Alternatively, the youth movement also plays a role in preserving tolerance tradition in Buntu Village. According to Suwoto, youths who are not performing worship help safeguard the ongoing religious activities. "During Ramadan and Eid, non-Muslim youths guard in front of the village gate. On the other hand, during Christmas, it is Muslim youth who are in charge of maintaining security and tranquility," said Suwoto (Interview, October 31, 2021). This phenomenon is an affirmation of the implementation of the HRC concept even though it occurred

before the institutionalization of the *Perda*. The attempt to contextualize HRC on a local scale signalizes the existence of a global-local nexus in the framework of tolerance. “From these localities, a plurality of legal sources of security of tenure (conventional, customary, etc), plurality of its interpretations (legal, factual, psychological) and plurality of approaches on how to provide it have been brought to these international processes” (Oomen & Durmus, 2019).

CONCLUSION

The existence of the Komda HAM in Wonosobo causes it to become the only city/regency in Indonesia that has its own independent human rights mechanism, namely Regional Government of Kabupaten Wonosobo Regulation Number 5 of 2016 concerning Wonosobo Regency for Human Rights Friendly City. Ideally, the existence of such a regulation should be followed by political will from stakeholders in Wonosobo. All efforts to make Wonosobo a thorough Human Rights Friendly City must be supported by an adequate budget politic. The goal is that the HRC can perform optimally and the supporting groups can run their duties accordingly.

Generally, the existence of regulations and the Human Rights Commission in Wonosobo can certainly improve its human rights condition, including, in the context of strengthening tolerance in a community. Support from regulations and institutions should play a significant role in efforts to develop good human rights conditions. However, in Wonosobo’s context, the existence of Human Rights Friendly City status and its own Human Rights Commission do not, evidently, directly correlated to the improvement of tolerance in the Buntu Village community. The status simply doesn’t make the Village more empowered. The tolerance runs naturally, untouched by the HRC program that is conducted by the regional government, even when Buntu Village is one of the icons of Human Rights Friendly City which was held in Wonosobo.

Five years after the Human Rights Friendly City regulation enactment, activities related to the program have not existed in Buntu Village. There has never been any capacity-building program, related to human rights, for village officials. Similarly, the existence of Komda HAM since 2018 has also been unable to provide something for the residents of Buntu Village. The activities of Komda HAM members are more personal because of their long history of maintaining harmony in Buntu Village. In addition, it is also supported by the agreement of villagers who tirelessly continue to prevent intolerance.

Wonosobo’s status as Human Rights Friendly City offers little contribution to improving tolerance in Buntu Village. Local wisdom in the village serves as the main engine for main-

taining the diversity of the villagers. In this case, we suspect several factors cause the absence of special programs related to human rights in Buntu Village, namely: a. Budget politics in Wonosobo has not considered its status as a Human Rights Friendly City important; b. Institutionally, Komda HAM has not been able to run optimally which hinders its effectiveness in undertaking its main tasks and functions; c. The regional government has not paid an adequate level of seriousness in implementing Human Rights Friendly City because of the possibility of Komda HAM gaining political influence. The three findings above deserve attention considering that Wonosobo still possesses a huge potential to develop further. It is undeniable that the status as a tourist destination and concern for human rights issues could be utilized in order to improve the welfare and harmony of the community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This article is derived from the research result that received funding from an internal grant at FISIP Universitas Brawijaya. The author would like to thank three research assistants, namely Riswanda Ziyad Kaffa, Noviana Astu, and Cynara Nur Aina who had helped during the completion process of the research. We would also like to thank the residents of Buntu Village, Buntu Village officials, and all of those who helped during the research process in Wonosobo and during the online data collection process.

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